

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES POLL—NATIONAL SURVEY;
JANUARY 19–22, 1995

	In- crease	Keep the same	De- crease	Elimi- nate	Don't know
Total sample	72	24	1	1	2
Gender:					
Male	67	28	1	1	3
Female	76	21	1	—	2
Age:					
18–29 years old	76	19	1	—	4
30–44 years old	74	23	—	1	2
45–64 years old	69	27	1	1	2
65 year and older	69	28	1	1	1
Ethnicity/Race:					
White	67	29	1	1	2
Black	92	5	—	—	3
Income:					
Less than \$20,000	80	15	1	1	3
\$20,000–\$39,999	76	21	—	—	3
\$40,000–\$59,999	69	26	1	1	3
\$60,000 and more	60	38	—	1	1
Education:					
High school or less	79	18	1	—	2
Some college	67	28	1	1	3
College graduate	59	36	1	2	2
Religious background:					
Protestant	72	24	—	1	3
Catholic	72	26	1	—	1
Party affiliation:					
Democrat	85	13	—	—	2
Independent	67	28	2	1	2
Republican	62	35	1	1	1
Political ideology:					
Liberal	82	16	—	—	2
Moderate	77	21	—	—	2
Conservative	63	33	1	1	2
Voter registration:					
Registered to vote	69	27	1	1	2
Not registered to vote	80	16	1	—	3
92 Presidential vote:					
Clinton	79	18	—	—	3
Bush	57	39	—	2	2
Perot	64	32	2	—	2
Location of home:					
City	76	21	1	1	1
Suburb	67	29	—	1	3
Small town	72	24	1	—	3
Rural	72	25	—	1	2
National region:					
East	76	21	1	1	1
Midwest	67	28	1	1	3
South	74	21	—	1	4
West	71	27	1	—	1
Union membership:					
Union member	82	16	—	—	2
Nonunion member	69	26	1	1	3
Union household	80	17	—	—	1
Nonunion household	69	27	1	1	2
Gender and party affiliation:					
Democratic men	82	17	—	—	1
Independent men	60	35	2	1	2
Republican men	60	36	1	2	1
Democratic women	87	10	—	—	3
Independent women	75	21	2	—	2
Republican women	64	35	—	—	1
Gender and age:					
Men 18–44 years old	72	23	—	1	4
Men 45 years and older	61	35	1	2	1
Women 18–44 years old	77	20	1	—	2
Women 45 years and older	76	21	1	—	2
Party and ideology:					
Liberal Democrats	85	13	—	—	2
Other Democrats	84	13	—	—	3
Conservative Republicans	55	41	1	2	1
Other Republicans	73	26	—	—	1
Working people and gender:					
Working men	66	28	1	2	3
Nonworking men	71	27	1	—	1
Working women	77	22	—	—	1
Nonworking women	76	19	1	—	4
Class and gender:					
Male upper class	53	45	—	1	1
Female upper class	66	33	—	—	1
Male middle class	66	30	1	2	1
Female middle class	77	20	1	—	2
Male working class	72	21	—	1	6
Female working class	81	16	1	—	2
Gender and race:					
White male	63	32	1	2	2
White female	71	26	1	—	2

(—) Indicates less than .5 percent.

HOW THE POLL WAS CONDUCTED

The Times Poll interviewed 1,353 adults nationwide, by telephone, Jan. 19 through 22. Telephone numbers were chosen from a list of all exchanges in the nation. Random-digit dialing techniques were used so that listed and non-listed numbers could be contacted. Interviewing was conducted in English and Spanish. The sample was weighted slightly to conform with census figures for sex, race, age and education. The margin of sampling error for the total sample is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For certain other subgroups the error margin may be somewhat

higher. Poll results can also be affected by other factors such as question wording and the order in which questions are presented.

DR. DAVID ELTON TRUEBLOOD

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, this past Saturday, January 28, in Richmond, IN, 150 persons from around the world gathered at Earlham College's Stout Meetinghouse for a memorial service in honor of one of the 20th century America's most prominent religious leaders, Dr. David Elton Trueblood. Dr. Trueblood, professor-at-large emeritus at Earlham, died on December 20, 1994 at Lansdale, PA. He was 94 years of age.

Dr. Trueblood was no stranger to the Senate. He first served as the guest chaplain of the Senate in August 1972. I was pleased to serve as the cosponsor, along with his former Earlham student, our late colleague Senator John East of North Carolina, for Dr. Trueblood's second visit with us as guest chaplain on the National Day of Prayer, May 3, 1984. In addition, Mr. President, Dr. Trueblood was a close and valued personal friend of long standing to our colleague, Senator MARK HATFIELD. The two men first met at Stanford University in 1946, when Dr. Trueblood was serving as the chaplain of that great institution and Senator HATFIELD was a young graduate student there.

Although he was born on a small farm near Indianola, IA, in 1900, Elton Trueblood had deep Indiana roots. His Quaker ancestors left North Carolina, where they had settled in 1682, and moved to Washington County, IN, in 1815. The Truebloods were part of the great migration of antislavery Quakers from the slaveholding States of the South to the increasingly abolitionist States of the North in the decades before the Civil War.

By the time that Dr. Trueblood joined Earlham's faculty as professor of philosophy in 1946, he had already established a distinguished academic career and a growing national reputation as a religious writer and speaker. After graduating from Iowa's William Penn College, he had earned the graduate degree of bachelor of systematic theology from Harvard University in 1926. He was awarded his doctor of philosophy degree from the Johns Hopkins University in 1934.

It was during Dr. Trueblood's studies at Johns Hopkins University that his career in the academic and religious worlds began to intersect with the Nation's political life. While completing his doctorate at Johns Hopkins, Dr. Trueblood served as the clerk of the Baltimore yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Already in demand as a preacher, Dr. Trueblood was invited to deliver the sermon at a Quaker meeting in Washington, DC. In the congregation that day was the first Quaker to become President of the United States, Herbert Hoover. That first encounter led to a long friendship between the two men which culminated in Dr. Trueblood's delivery of the eulo-

gy at President Hoover's funeral some 35 years later.

After completing his doctoral studies at Johns Hopkins, Dr. Trueblood accepted teaching assignments at Guilford College, in North Carolina, and then at Haverford College, in Pennsylvania. After a temporary assignment as the acting chaplain of Harvard, Dr. Trueblood became the chaplain of Stanford University in 1936. He held a dual faculty appointment at Stanford as professor of philosophy.

The friendship between Herbert Hoover and Elton Trueblood blossomed when Dr. Trueblood arrived at the Stanford campus, to which President Hoover had moved after he left the White House in 1933. When President Hoover died in 1964, the Hoover family called Dr. Trueblood back from a round-the-world cruise to conduct the memorial services for the former President in West Branch, IA. After flying back to the United States from Saigon, Dr. Trueblood delivered a stirring eulogy to the 31st President before the 75,000 persons gathered for the funeral services on a hillside overlooking the Hoover Library.

When, in 1946, Dr. Trueblood received his offer to come to Earlham in Indiana, he faced a difficult decision. He enjoyed the prestige of a tenured full professorship at one of the Nation's leading universities. He was, as I noted, also Stanford's chaplain and the close friend and neighbor of former President Hoover. Yet Dr. Trueblood yearned for a smaller educational institution, for a return to his Quaker roots, and for greater freedom to pursue his writing and public speaking. And so, Mr. President, Dr. Trueblood accepted Earlham's offer, a decision about which he wrote in an article entitled "Why I Chose a Small College" for Reader's Digest.

After his arrival at Earlham in 1946, Dr. Trueblood's career as a religious writer and speaker earned him growing national following. Several years later, he was invited to speak in Washington, DC, before a church congregation that included President Dwight Eisenhower. President Eisenhower later invited Dr. Trueblood to the Oval Office at the White House. Ultimately, President Eisenhower asked Dr. Trueblood to join his administration as the Director of Religious Information for the U.S. Information Agency.

During the Eisenhower administration, Elton Trueblood developed a friendship with the young man who would be the second Quaker to become President of the United States. The young man was Vice President Richard Nixon. Dr. Trueblood and Vice President Nixon stayed in regular contact after Dr. Trueblood returned to Earlham and throughout Mr. Nixon's post-Vice-Presidential years in California and New York.

After Mr. Nixon took office as President in 1969, he honored Dr. Trueblood by inviting him to speak at the Sunday

religious services held regularly in the White House. When the 1972 Republican National Convention nominated him for a second term as President, Mr. Nixon turned to Elton Trueblood to give the invocation.

As a man of character and faith, Dr. Trueblood believed deeply in loyalty to his friends. Throughout the ordeal of the Watergate scandal, Dr. Trueblood offered his friend, President Nixon, religious solace and advice in private. When, in August 1974, Mr. Nixon reached his decision to resign, the President called Dr. Trueblood at Earlham to tell him about the action that he finally had concluded that he must take.

The author of three dozen books, Dr. Trueblood was a world renowned writer. Perhaps the book for which he is best known was published the same year in which President Nixon resigned. Bringing his deep appreciation for the nexus between the spiritual life and the world of politics to its most creative fruition, Dr. Trueblood published "Abraham Lincoln: Theologian of American Anguish."

Critically acclaimed, Dr. Trueblood's study of President Lincoln's religious life became a great inspiration to numerous political leaders. President Gerald Ford kept a copy in his Oval Office. First Lady Nancy Reagan spoke of being deeply moved by Dr. Trueblood's Lincoln book when she found it in the White House Library. I am proud to say, Mr. President, that Elton Trueblood's "Abraham Lincoln" graces my own bookshelf as well.

After an extraordinary career, Dr. Trueblood ended 42 years of service to Earlham College and the Nation when he retired to Pennsylvania in 1988. Today, Mr. President, Elton Trueblood is back home again in Indiana. Following Saturday's memorial service at Earlham, his ashes were interred in the outer wall of his beloved Teague Library on the Earlham campus.

Mr. President, another of Dr. Trueblood's former Earlham College students, Steven R. Valentine, served as a Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Reagan and Bush administrations and is now the general counsel to our colleague, Senator ROBERT SMITH of New Hampshire. Mr. Valentine traveled to Richmond, IN for the memorial services on January 28. He remembers Dr. Trueblood "as not only a man of extraordinary intellect, but as a person with a great heart. Elton Trueblood has a beautiful eternal soul," Mr. Valentine says, "and as I think of him now, I recall his words of Shakespeare:"

[A]nd, when he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

Mr. President, before he died, Elton Trueblood chose, as the convenor of his Quaker memorial service, another distinguished Indiana educator. Dr. Landrum Bolling, whom Dr. Trueblood

brought to Earlham to teach political science, became the president of Earlham College in 1958. He left Earlham in 1973 to become the president of Lilly Endowment in Indianapolis, IN, and later served as the chairman of the Council on Foundations.

In connection with his service as the convenor of Dr. Trueblood's memorial service, Dr. Bolling wrote a short biographical sketch of Elton Trueblood, which was printed and distributed to all in attendance. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print that biographical summary in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAVID ELTON TRUEBLOOD—DECEMBER 12, 1900—
DECEMBER 20, 1994

(By Landrum R. Bolling)

Dr. David Elton Trueblood, author, educator, philosopher, and theologian, endowed with special gifts and holder of many honors, bestowed unnumbered blessings upon a numerous family and countless friends. He leaves to all of us who knew him and to multitudes who never met him a rich legacy of spiritual insights, intellectual and ethical challenges, and a vision of what communities of committed men and women, faithful to God's guidance, may yet do to build a better world.

A lifelong member of the Society of Friends, Elton Trueblood's teaching, speaking and writing influenced directly the lives of many people in many faith communities around the world. At Haverford, Guilford, Harvard, Stanford, Mount Holyoke, and Earlham he inspired thousands of students over half a century of spirited classroom teaching. His thirty-three books, clearly and simply written, captivated mass audiences rarely reached by words from academic pens.

Elton's English Quaker ancestors settled on the coast of North Carolina in 1682 at the site of the present town of Elizabeth City. In 1815 a large group of Carolina Quakers, including the Truebloods, emigrated to Washington County, Indiana. In 1869 his grandfather and other members of the family moved on to Warren County, Iowa. There, on a small farm near Indianola, Elton was born on December 12, 1900, the son of Samuel and Effie Trueblood.

Molded by the close-knit Quaker community, hard work on the family farm, encouragement from proud and supportive parents and excellent teachers, Elton Trueblood developed bookish interests and a strong student record. At William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, he won high standing as scholar, debater, and football player. After preliminary studies at Brown University and Hartford Theological Seminary, he earned the graduate degree of Bachelor of Systematic Theology at Harvard in 1926. He received his Ph.D. degree in philosophy from The Johns Hopkins University in 1934.

His first teaching assignments were at two Friends institutions: Guilford in North Carolina and Haverford in Pennsylvania. In 1936, largely as the result of his handling of a summer appointment as acting Chaplain of Harvard, he was invited to become Chaplain of Stanford. Thus, he was given a public platform and a visibility that drew him increasingly into a national ministry. Former President Herbert Hoover and his wife Lou Henry Hoover were close neighbors and friends and often attended the Quaker Meeting for Worship held monthly in the Trueblood home. (That friendship led to Elton's conducting the funeral services for both of the Hoovers, presiding over Mr. Hoover's

public burial before a crowd of 75,000 on a hillside overlooking the Hoover presidential library and museum or West Branch, Iowa.)

In 1945 Elton Trueblood felt a strong calling to extend his public ministry through writing and speaking—and at the same time to serve a small Quaker liberal arts institution. Thus, he was prompted to leave his tenured full professorship at Stanford to join the faculty of Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, as professor of philosophy. There he quickly became a major asset in the rebuilding of the College after the impoverishing years of World War II: helping in the recruiting of both faculty and students, the shaping of new educational policies, the raising of funds, and the promoting of broader public appreciation of Earlham—and of hundreds of other church-related and independent colleges. In a much-reprinted Reader's Digest article, "Why I Chose a Small College," he extolled these institutions as superior places for undergraduate education, where teaching was emphasized and where close faculty-student relations could be naturally fostered.

Although the teaching of undergraduates, in courses in both philosophy and religion, remained at the center of his academic life at Earlham, his interest and influence were crucial in the implementation of the risky and controversial decision by the Earlham Board to establish the graduate programs of an Earlham School of Religion. Questions about the possibility of a Quaker seminary had been debated for almost a century, but the idea had always been discouraged as "not feasible" and rejected by some Friends as "thoroughly un-Quakerly." Meanwhile, Quaker churches of the pastoral tradition seemed increasingly to draw their ministers from the ranks of the clergy trained in other denominations, or with little formal education in religion, while the less numerous unprogrammed (or "silent") Quaker Meetings and their related outreach agencies tended to draw their leadership from among Friends and non-Friends with no theological training. Elton Trueblood was one of the few "leading Quakers" who believed that this enterprise could and should be undertaken. Happily, he lived to see the Earlham School of Religion thriving and serving all branches of the Society of Friends.

Although he served on many committees of the Society of Friends and was widely recognized as one of the most eminent Quakers of the Twentieth Century, Elton Trueblood was very much at home in a variety of other religious communities, was a strong advocate of ecumenical activities, and was considered by many Quakers and non-Quakers as not quite fitting the popular stereotype of the "liberal activist" Quaker. His generally strong pro-Republican political views, his friendship with such prominent Republicans as Hoover, Nixon, and Eisenhower, and his strong anti-communism caused discomfort to some of the more strongly social-activist segments of Friends. He did not like the popular stereotyping of people as "conservative" and "liberal," as he considered these terms simplistic and divisive. He believed the Society of Friends, though a small denomination, was big enough for widely divergent points of view.

He liked to say that the most important word in the language is "and." On many matters of controversy, he would insist, "we have to say both-and, not either-or." By word and action he demonstrated what some saw as contradictory beliefs and habits: liberal and conservative, traditional and innovative, compassionate and tough-minded, generous and demanding. He was the affirmation of these combinations as being human, realistic, and honest.

From his abolitionist Quaker heritage and his own sense of moral and religious imperatives, he drew strength for vigorous opposition to racial discrimination. He was an early friend and supporter of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. At crucial points in the civil rights struggle he appealed directly to Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon to hold to strong stands for public policies to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and to advance equality in human rights.

On another central Quaker testimony, pacifism, he was forthright about the importance and complexity of the issue as faced by those holding political power. He struggled openly over the personal dilemma of how an individual or a state can effectively confront challenges of violence and tyranny. He wrote and spoke eloquently against war, for international reconciliation, and in support of the rights of conscience for objectors to military service, and for those who chose military service. If a government does not successfully practice peaceful relations with its neighbors, then it will face a choice of evils in times of crisis. Thus, reluctantly, he concluded during World War II that military resistance to Hitler aggression was necessary.

Avoiding simplistic admonitions for a "back to the church" or "back to the bible" movement, he called for the reinvigorating of religious faith as the essential force necessary to sustain the ethical, moral, and social principles on which a humane and livable society must be built. He warned against what he called "churchianity" and "vague religiosity," but he also cautioned against the overly optimistic expectations of secular social-reformism or of a too-easy social gospel.

His emphasis in his books and lectures on the importance of family life was not theoretical but a reflection of his role as husband and father. He and Pauline Goodenow, who met while they were students at William Penn College, were married in 1924. They had three sons and one daughter: Martin, born in 1925; Arnold, born in 1930; Samuel in 1936; and Elizabeth in 1941. They knew him, throughout his life, as a loving and devoted father who found ways to be available to them in spite of his heavy work responsibilities and frequent speaking trips. He consciously determined that his children should not pay a heavy price for his public career.

Tragedy struck the family in the fall of 1954 when it was discovered that Pauline was suffering from an inoperable brain tumor. The family was in the process of moving to Washington, D.C. where Elton was beginning an assignment with the U.S. Information Agency. Pauline had been a strong support an inspiration, providing needed criticism of his writings and encouraging him to fulfill his opportunities for national ministry—and managing a busy household in spite of years of chronic illness. Pauline died in early 1955.

Virginia Hodgkin, a widow with two children, became Elton's secretary at Earlham in 1950 and moved to Washington to continue her work with him at the USIA. In September, 1956 Elton and Virginia were married at the Washington National Cathedral, with both families in attendance. Virginia proved to be a valuable partner as well as devoted wife. With her help, he wrote and published 17 books in the next 18 years, ending with his autobiography, *While It Is Day*, in 1974. Virginia died in 1984.

As a writer, Elton Trueblood developed a style that emphasized clarity, conciseness, and simplicity. Among his literary mentors, of whom he spoke with the greatest sense of admiration and debt, he always listed Blaise Pascal, Dr. Samuel Johnson, Abraham Lincoln, and C.S. Lewis. He was grateful for their skill in treating serious subjects with ample use of aphorisms, anecdotes, and humor. He also liked to paraphrase Mark

Twain on how to get started with your writing by saying you simply had "to glue your trousers to your chair and pick up your pen without waiting for inspiration."

To many who knew him, Elton was an almost awesome figure because of his self-discipline. To his editors at Harper and Row, he was a delight to work with, always turning in clean copy that required little editing, was delivered on or before his promised deadline, and was sure to appeal to a diverse and numerous audience. During his most productive years, he rigorously divided his day into periods of meditation, exercise, writing, and family life. Most of his books he wrote in a small cabin at the family summer home in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania during the summer break in the academic year. He would contract to deliver his manuscript in early September, and begin writing on the Monday after the Fourth of July. He wrote between eight in the morning and noon, Monday through Friday, in longhand on a yellow pad. He never got personally involved with typewriters or computers!

Although his earlier books were of the longer academic type, he came to feel that any book with a serious public message, with any hope of impact on its readers, should be limited to 130 pages. He generally followed his own prescription.

Likewise, in his public speaking, he believed in being brief and to the point. His sermons and popular lectures were rarely more than twenty minutes, thirty at the outside. In classroom lectures he filled the required fifty minutes, often without a note, and ended exactly at the bell. His popularity as a public speaker was such that he could easily have devoted all his working time to the well-paying lecture circuit. Instead, he limited his speaking engagements to those audiences he wanted to reach or help, saving most of his time and energies for teaching and his family. He spoke without fee for those who could not afford to pay, but charged a standard amount for those who could.

Although he led a very busy and highly productive life, countless individuals from all walks of the life remember Elton Trueblood with deep gratitude for time he spent in private conversation with them, hearing their problems, their hopes and their dreams—and giving advice. He had extraordinary gifts in encouraging others to believe in their potential and to develop the discipline to use their gifts fully. He was a living example of the good advice he gave to others.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the incredibly enormous Federal debt is like New Year's Resolutions—everybody talks about making them but rarely do very much about them.

The New Year arrived a little over a month ago, but the Senate is bogged down about passing a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Senate had better get cracking—the clock is ticking and the debt is mushrooming. As of the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, January 31, the Federal debt stood—down to the penny—at exactly \$4,815,826,745,802.15 or \$18,280 per person calculated on a per capita basis. This debt, don't forget, was run up by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, most citizens cannot conceive of a billion of anything, let

alone a trillion. Yesterday, President Clinton authorized a \$20 billion in loan guarantees to Mexico. This figure was so disturbing to the American taxpayers—80 percent of them—that I felt compelled to discuss them during Foreign Relations Committee hearings. Now, multiply that \$20 billion by 240—this equals the total debt of our Federal Government.

Which sort of puts it in perspective, does it not, that Congress has run up this incredible Federal debt totaling 4,803 of those billions—of dollars. In other words, the Federal debt, as I said earlier, stood this morning at 4 trillion, 803 billion, 795 million, 968 thousand, 326 dollars and 50 cents. It'll be even greater at closing time today.

PRESIDENT ARISTIDE'S PROGRESS IN HAITI

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on October 15, 1994, I was privileged to join Secretary of State Warren Christopher and other United States officials and congressional leaders in accompanying President Aristide on his return to Haiti after more than 3 years in forced exile. Before departing for Port-au-Prince, President Aristide pledged that upon his return, his government would work for peace and reconciliation among all sectors of Haitian society.

I believe that President Clinton has done a remarkable job in fashioning a policy that has led to the restoration of the duly elected President of Haiti. Special commendation must go to the men and women in the United States Armed Forces who have been deployed in Haiti to ensure a stable and peaceful climate within which the newly restored civilian government may begin the difficult task of rebuilding Haiti. Without the presence of these committed men and women, the dreams and aspirations of the Haitian people to live in a democracy would stand no hope of fulfillment.

More than 100 days have now passed since that historic day last October. President Aristide has kept his commitment to work for peace and reconciliation among all Haitians. I believe that he has made significant progress in the areas of governance, security, economic reconstruction, and meeting the basic needs of the Haitian people. Obviously much remains to be done.

The Embassy of Haiti has prepared a detailed report on the measures taken by the Haitian Government during the first 100 days of the restoration of democracy. I ask unanimous consent that report be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAITI SINCE THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY: ONE HUNDRED DAYS OF PROGRESS

"The Government and people of Haiti take pride in the achievements of the last one